

l: Karsten--259-260

116, 861, 787, 627

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusupani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house, 'etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260
116, 861, 787, 627

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place. "

L. Karsten - -269
116, 152, 578, 721, 627

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--269-270

116, 754, 627

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine'men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies." As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, *on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

l: Karsten--270-271
116, 753, 627, 177

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (sungura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i. e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused willfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

l: Karsten--270-271

116, 753, 627, 177

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

I: Karsten--271
116, 627, 837, 593, 684

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

l: Karsten--271-272
116, 775, 152, 627, 577

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

1: Karsten--271-272

116, 775, 152, 627, 577

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc. --we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--272-274
116, 672, 627, 828

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

1: Karsten--272-274

116, 672, 627, 828

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

1: Karsten--272-274

116, 672, 627, 828

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

"When a murder committed by tribesman is to be avenged, the social morality of the Jibaros requires that the punishment shall be meted out with justice, in so far that for one life which has been taken only one life should be taken in retaliation. Thereupon the blood-guilt is atoned for (turnáshi akérkama) and the offended family is satisfied. Consequently, if a Jibaro Indian wishes to avenge the murder of his brother, it may well happen that he, if the slayer himself cannot be caught and punished, will assassinate his brother or father instead of him, but he does not take the life of more than one member of the family, even if he has an opportunity of killing more. If he, for instance, killed not only the murderer himself but also one of his brothers, this would awaken indignation in the whole tribe, and it would be considered just that the family thus offended in its turn should take revenge. The blood guilt in such a case has passed to the original avenger. This principle, which requires that there shall be justice in the retaliation so that life is weighed against life, in itself of course has a tendency to limit blood-revenge. It happens, however, in many cases, and especially when supposed witchery is in question, that the person accused of the crime does not admit the guilt, but asserts that he and his family are innocently persecuted by the relatives of the dead. If then he or a member of his family is murdered, his relatives try, in their turn, to take revenge, and so on, in which case the blood feud tends to become prolonged indefinitely."

1: Karsten--274 [2]

116, 627, 602

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jiyaro

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died, 'they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

20: Dyott--157-158
116, 627, 867, 181

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."